574 he leaves. They observe some of these ceremonies for Father Raymond when he goes to see them.

[68] CHAPTER X

Their Commerce

439 They trade with everyone with whom they are at peace. But their trading does not involve much of value, and they do not ask for much. When they come to see us they bring tortoises, pigs, chickens, parrots, fish, pineapples, cotton hammocks and other works of theirs. In exchange we give them axes, bill-hooks, knives, cloth to make sails for their pirogues, glass beads, crystals, and other begatelles. When they have more of these tools than they need, they carry them to other Caribs of the islands or mainland and exchange them for caracolis, green stones (which are good against serious illness), or other similar things. That is the extent of their commerce or trade.

[17] Previously, when they had no commerce with the Europeans, they used stone axes and knives. They made their fish-hooks from scales of the tortoise, or, probably, from the border shell, which is harder than the other scales. One still sees these old instruments among them, although they no longer use them.

CHAPTER XI

Their War, Enemies and Weapons

624 [726] Our Caribs do not make war properly speaking, since they never fight a pitched battle but make surprise raids. Also, they hardly attack those who are on their guard unless they have a tremendous advantage in numbers. They have chiefs chosen from the most valiant and from those who have killed the most enemies. They do not choose young men, even if they are the sons of old chiefs. They choose mature and courageous men, whom they esteem a great deal while they still have all their strength, but to whom they no longer pay any attention when they become old. There are two at present

●624 at Dominica, [69] one of Basse-Terre called Oukalé, known to the French as Hamichon; the other of Capesterre called Halannena, and known to us as The Baron. He is the host of our Father Raymond. Outside of war, the chiefs have no authority over the others.

721 When they intend to go to war, the chief who has undertaken it
[203] gives a drinking party and harangues the guests to excite them. Or else he sends his children around to all the carbets to announce the day of assembly and departure. They do not force anyone to go. They leave from Dominica in eight or ten pirogues armed in their fashion for war; they take along women only to cook and serve them, and leave them on some islet while they go to the encounter. If they have an important war, as when they invade the mainland to fight the Allouagues, they pick up warriors in passing from Martinique, Saint Vincent, Grenada (and Galibis), and form a rather powerful army, if they join courage and direction to number.

726 They rarely attack at night for fear they will kill each other, but rather attack at daybreak. They all give a horrible cry, which startles those who are not prepared for it. They readily fight in bright moonlight. Before the combat they consult the boye, who asks his demon what the fortunes of war will be. If they besiege their enemies, it is not for long, for they raise the siege by noon or night of the same day they start it. They have an implacable hatred of the Allouagues, a certain people of the mainland, and of the allies of the Allouagues who live on the island of Trinidad or by the rivers of the mainland, where there are innumerable nations. Sometimes our Caribs surprise the Allouagues, kill some of them and take prisoners. They eat the men, and make slaves of the women. The Allouagues render them the same service, often attack them, and give them no more gentle treatment.

726 They also make war with the English, with whom, however, they
648 tried to make peace, but which they were not able to achieve. Since the English never cease to kill them or make them slaves, they do the English as much harm as they can. They look for them in the islands they inhabit, especially at Antigua, which is a neighboring island, and kill and abduct them. We shall say [70] something in another part [of this account] of the war they had with us.

Before the French and English came to these islands, they harassed the Spanish, particularly on the island of Saint Jean de Portorico

624 They have almost the same ceremony when they make a captain of a man, although captains do not have too much authority among them. They make him fast, gash him, and then throw at his head the skins of cuttlefish. If he does not parry them dextrously he is in danger of being wounded, in which case he would not be considered a good captain.

843 262 During the pregnancy of the wife the husband does not eat tortoise for if he did eat it, they say, they child would be deaf as a tortoise. In the same way the father doesn't eat manatee because that animal has very small eyes and the child would not fail to inherit this imperfection. But when they eat with the French they are not so scrupulous about these restrictions.

4. Commerce

157 648 The life which they lead is so agreeable that they are very contented, and no matter how well we treat them, we cannot keep them living among us. Some Caribs have lived among the French for a long time and have had an easy life, but at the first occasion they have broken away and returned to the other Caribs. They are extremely suspicious, and if they see you with a musket in your hand they will never visit your house. The least thing makes them mistrustful. As we were passing on our return by way of Dominica a Carib came towards us half way from the shore. As soon as he saw the small boat which was behind our vessel he turned quickly away. If one has weapons in his boat they will never come aboard. If one of them climbs aboard a ship, the other always stays in the canoe as a lookout. They judge others as they judge themselves, which means they trust no one. If they come in sight of a house they carefully look all around, partly to see if there is anything to frighten them, and partly to discover a means of surprising it.

648 When they entered the brick house which the governor had made they roughly threw themselves against the wall to test the possibility of pushing it over. They found it firm, and hiding their astonishment and anger they remarked, as though it pleased them, "That's pretty good, compere." No matter how good they have been with you they will endeavor to trap you, and once they have you at their advantage

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

if the vessel overturned. Large rectangular baskets, turned upside down and provided with wooden legs 4 to 5 inches (10 cm.) tall, served as tables (matoutou). The basketry technique was used also in the manufacture of strainers, sieves, and mats, the functions of which have been described above. In historic times the natives had brooms. 285

The weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of *Carib* culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword-shaped stick. The cloth was dyed with various colors, particularly red, and was sewn with a needle made from a palmetto spine. 286

Pottery and gourds.—The *Carib* baked pots and griddles of clay; the former were indispensable for making beer. They had numerous gourd containers, made by removing the pulp with hot water and pebbles. These included bottles for urucú, covered bowls (coyenbouc) for carrying trinkets, platters, cups, dippers, and spoons. Often they were engraved or painted. Coconut shells were treated in the same manner. 315 [323]

Woodworking.—The men not only carved canoes of wood but also they made bowls, which were used primarily for drinking bouts, and stools, which either were solid or were provided with four legs. 322

Fire making.—The people made fire by rubbing one mahot stick against another. 372

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Except in wartimes, each *Carib* village seems to have been an independent organization. It consisted of an extended family which had split away from some other village and was headed by its founder. This man, called a carbet chief or tiubutuli-basthe, had charge of the carbet and of the entertainment which took place therein. He probably also supervised fishing and the cultivation of the land, which seems to have been communal. Although he was treated with deference, he had little authority. The *Carib* men were individualists, and they looked down upon the Europeans for taking orders. 621 622 [167]

Each island also had one or two war chiefs, called ubutu, who were elected to hold office for life. Except that ownership of a caracoli seems to have been one of the requirements for this chieftainship, no heredity was involved in the office. However, a son might succeed his father if he could prove himself worthy. He had to be an experienced warrior with a good record, excel in swimming and diving, show that he could carry a greater burden than his followers, and bear burning and slashing of his flesh without flinching. 624

The war chief was particularly honored. He was provided with an assistant, and wherever he went he was surrounded by a retinue. His

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

624 were the first fruits of any feast. It was his duty to conduct the war council in one of the carbets; he also had charge of some of the entertainment there.

Two or more war chiefs usually participated in each raid, one of them being chosen head chief, but only for the period of the raid. The head chief sometimes assumed command of the fleet of canoes going on the raid, or he might delegate such command to a younger warrior. The owner of each canoe was leader of the men in his craft; he was called a boat chief and bailed instead of paddling.

554 It will be apparent that rank was not so well defined among the *Carib* as among the *Arawak*. Descent does not seem to have been important [611] either; no mention of it has been found in the sources.[6] Men were prominent because of their military prowess, because of caracoli obtained from their ancestors, or because they were old and full of knowledge. There was a slave class composed of captive women, but their children were free.

681 It is said that during historic times murders were a common occurrence at the drinking bouts. They were avenged by the relatives of the dead person. In case of theft the aggrieved person slashed the shoulder of the thief with an agouti tooth, to mark the crime. The husband punished adultery by beating his wife to death with a club.

574 **Etiquette.**—Each carbet appointed a man to act as host. He provided the visitor with tobacco and a seat. Then the other men of the carbet, dressed in their best, introduced themselves and conversed with the visitor. There might be a banquet, at which everyone drank much. Special hammocks were always provided for visitors, and a woman was assigned to paint them and dress their hair in the morning. To show great friendship, the hosts exchanged names with their guests; in case of intimacy they exchanged presents.

If the cassava provided to a guest were folded, he could have only what he ate. If it were unfolded, however, he could take with him the remnants. The people usually ate in silence and without drinking. Only one man ordinarily spoke at a time; the other men hummed if they approved.

421 **Economic organization.**—Little is known of *Carib* economics. The [432] people used rolls of tobacco as a monetary standard and obtained beads of crystal or greenstone from South America. Land and food products seem to have been held by the village in common. On the other hand, canoes and ornaments were personal property. It is not known how they were inherited.

[6] It has not been possible to substantiate the statement by Gower (1927, p. 33) that descent was matrilineal.

8: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1950
ST13 Callinago ST13

they still eat no fish or fowl—unless it be crabs, and these must be female—so long as their children remain feeble and weakly. . . . Otherwise, he said, the children would have stomach-ache, or else bodily deformations resembling the animals that their fathers had eaten.[3]

Further details are given by du Tertre and by La Borde.[4] For a first-born male child, the father's retreat lasted three months; for other births, only five or six days; and during this period, he lived in a separate building and avoided those who were leading a normal life. But for six months after the birth of any child of his, he had to abstain from eating the flesh of certain animals. The mother also fasted for some—du Tertre says forty—days, drinking only warmed water, and eating dry cassava. On no account, says La Borde, must she eat female crabs. The child was bathed immediately after birth; and, so that it should not catch cold if this took place at night, all the men in the carbet got up and went out to bathe also.

When a death occurred:

The children of the deceased or his wife cut their hair in sign of mourning. They *also fast for one or two months.* Father Raymond (Breton) asked them whether this fast helped the dead in any way, and they said: no; but that those who did not fast *would grow old sooner, be unsure of foot* and unable to see fish in the water, and that they would be liable to surprise by their enemies.[5]

Similarly:

When girls begin to have their flowers, they make them *fast for one or two months;* as also the boys, when these attain their adolescence; and they have them scarified with aguti-teeth.[6]

According to La Borde, if a Carib were wounded when away from home, he would send immediately to tell the members of his family, so that these might not, by continuing their normal diet and activities, become the involuntary cause of aggravating his affliction. It may be gathered, moreover, that they were not always disposed to co-operate fully in this matter; for we are told that:

> The kin never, or but very rarely, visit their sick; and married (*du Tertre says:* newly married) people generally do not go at all, because, they say, *there emanates from their body a principle which afflicts the sick person the more.* For this reason, when one of the Baron's sons was sick, neither his brothers nor his sisters nor his father went to see him; *only his mother looked after him, and she kept away from the father.*[7]

We are also told that fasting was a prerequisite for the would-be *buiei* or shaman, and for candidates for chieftaincy.

[3] *In* Rennard, 1929, pp. 59–60.
[4] du Tertre, 1667–71, vol. II, p. 412; La Borde, *in* Hennepin, 1704, pp. 587–593.
[5] Armand de la Paix, *in* Rennard, 1929, pp. 72–73.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 61. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

8: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1950
ST13 Callinago ST13

These retreats and fasts culminated in a blood-letting ritual which was particularly severe in the case of an adult who had become a father for the first time, or in that of one who had "killed some Arawak." A chicken-hawk was sacrificed by crushing its head against that of the man, who then stood upon a pile of cassava-cakes whose centres only he had eaten during his fast, while his back was scarified with an aguti-tooth lancet until the blood ran down, and then rubbed with a decoction containing tobacco-juice, rocou-leaves (*Bixa orellana*), and the seeds of red-peppers (*Capsicum*) crushed together with the body of the sacrificed bird. Subsequently, he was given the latter's dried heart to eat, and finally had to take a drastic emetic (usually tobacco-juice) which made him "rendre tripes et boudins." After having undergone this ordeal, he had to fast for some days longer—although he might be "fed like a child" with some of his blood-soaked cassavas—while the others got drunk at his expense. Adolescents were treated somewhat more gently; but they too brought their sacrificial bird, and had their backs scarified; after which they had to remain fasting for some further time in their hammocks, and without changing the posture in which their sponsors had placed them, under pain of becoming deformed.[8]

Before attempting to interpret the somewhat complex syndrome of contagious magic implied by the foregoing review of seventeenth-century practices, it will be as well to set forth, in brief, the current forms of dietary and occupational restrictions found among the Dominica remnant of the Island Carib tribes and their more vigorous Central American offshoot, and the occasions for their application.

Blood-letting rituals such as that described above no longer exist, even in legend, among either of these groups.[9] Nor are adolescents or neophytes subjected by them to any special regimen. On the other hand, dietary or occupational restrictions—or both—are required of the new parent of either sex, of the bereaved spouse (particularly in the case of a wife who loses her husband), and of menstruating women. It is perhaps worth noting that, nowadays, those placed on men concern *only* activities, whereas those placed on women concern *mainly* diet.

From the Black Carib of British Honduras, it was learned that:

Once a woman knows herself to be pregnant . . . both she and her mate must refrain from killing or eating the flesh of certain animals. An informant recounted how his uncle once had killed a snake in his garden, while a woman—not even a "partner"—was pregnant for him; and how, as a result, the child had been still-born, with flat head and nose and small eyes like those of a snake. In another case, it was said that a

[8] Mainly from Breton, 1892, pp. 202–203.

[9] As a personal practice, however, many hunters, in order to have luck in the chase, draw blood from their arms by making a series of close, superficial cuts with a razor-blade.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

fifty years ago—two and a half centuries after Breton's stay in the island—Rat found both terms still in use: "A modern Carib is called by his countrymen, *Karífuna.* In referring to the whole race of Caribs, the word *Karínaku* is used," he says; and rather naively comments: "Raymond Breton does not mention Karífuna"! 101

There appear to be four names, with their variations, applied to the Caribs—the first by themselves, the other three being examples of how they were "called names" by their neighbors and enemies:

1. Callínago, calínago, kalína, karínaku, karína (see kinship term 5) *harmless* > stem kari- *hurt, harm,* and suffix, -na *(free)from* (cf. Breton's "callinémeti *homme paisible, homme de bien*").

2. Callíponam, carípuna, karipúna, caripoune, carifoona, karífuna, kàripúna (see kinship term 6) *people disposed to hurt* (cf. Breton's karibúteti *sensitive, touchy* > Rat's kaifúteti *fearsome).*

3 Galíbi, caníbi, caríbe, caríve, caribbe, charibbee, carib, charib, cariva, caribisce, callibíshi, caribisi, carabish. These names, although usually taken to be European corruptions of 2, may well derive from the stem kari- (see above) and, as suffix -ibe *tribe, kin* (see term 8, and cf. kibeti *many)* and connote *harmful* or *hurtful nation.*

4. Similarly [kawáibe?] > kawahíb, k'wáib (the present local Creole term) > Kráibo (place name) and French caraïbe; probably meant *quarrelsome people, tribe,* or *nation* (cf. kawáiti *quarrelsome).*

Breton tells us that there were two main chiefs, one for the leeward, another for the windward side of Dominica, with minor chiefs or headmen in charge of the several settlements or carbets (< tábuy *longhouse*). Breton says he was laughed at when he greeted one of these with the word for chief; and from other sources it does not appear that they exercised any great authority. In wartime, a special commander was appointed to lead the combined forces of several islands; and each boat had its own captain. The forces of Dominica were said to take the lead in such campaigns. War-time leaders could exact obedience, but had to relinquish their positions at the termination of an expedition. We are told that chiefs and their sons did not follow the usual custom of matrilocal residence after marriage, but brought their wives to their own homes. The tradition of one-time royalty probably refers to an hereditary chieftainship; but it is evident that at the time of which the chroniclers wrote chiefs were elected and might even be deposed. Candidates for chieftainship were selected on the 622 [624] 624 [701] 624 622 [591]